they are seldom corrected even if they mistreat their fathers and mothers; most of them are not even reprimanded for such terrible conduct.

Nakedness does not shame them [the children]; and they belch, fart, and carry on all the other necessities of nature without any restraint. Their fathers and mothers do not teach them anything except how to fish, to shoot with a bow, to swim, and to weave small baskets and cotton hammocks.

When the boys and girls have reached the age of puberty they fast for three weeks or one month and their skin is cut with agouti teeth as we mentioned previously. When the Caribs want to make one of their young men a captain or raise him to the rank of warrior, the young man obtains in advance a bird of prey called Mancefenil, [Manifénil] which he feeds until the time it is destined for this ceremony. When this day arrives the father invites the most distinguished and oldest of his friends, and when they come together he has his son sit on a stool and encourages him to be courageous in his battles and to revenge himself on his enemies. He then takes the bird by the feet and breaks and crushes its head by striking it against the head of his son. Although he is almost stunned by the blows he has received, the son must not even raise his eyebrows if he wishes to be considered a brave warrior. Then the father mangles and crushes the body of the bird and soaks it in water with a quantity of pimentos. He cuts the skin of his son all over the body and washes him with this spiced water and finally gives him the heart of the Mancefenil bird to eat. This is done, they say, so that he will become more courageous.

Afterwards a cotton hammock is hung for him from the roof of the house and he is laid stretched out in it. He is to stay there without eating or drinking or moving in any way until his strength is almost gone. They firmly believe that if he should twist himself during this time he would remain in this position for the rest of his life. When the son has passed this test, which is so rigorous that occasionally one of them dies, he passes as a valorous soldier, even though he may very often be only a coward.

It should be noticed in speaking of their marriages that the young people do not know what it is to make love before they are married. When they wish to marry a girl who does not belong to them by right

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LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy. The birth often took place by a fire. If it caused trouble, the woman drank juice made from a certain root. Afterward she washed the child in a stream and placed it in a tiny hammock or on a couch of leaves. If the birth had taken place at night, the men of the house bathed themselves so that the child would not catch cold.

For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he complained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock. He remained there for at least 40 days after the birth of his first child, and for 4 or 5 days after the birth of other children. During this time he went out only at night and avoided meeting anyone for fear that they might tempt him to break his fast, thereby making the mother sick and the child cowardly. At first he took no food. After 5 days he was permitted to drink corn beer and after 10 days to eat manioc bread in increasing quantities. He ate only the insides of the bread, the crusts being hung up in the hut until the end of the 40-day period, when they served as the basis for a feast in the village carbet. Preceding the feast the father was brought into the carbet, was stood on two large flat cakes of cassava, and was scarified by two men chosen by the carbet chief. A mixture of urucú, pepper seeds, and tobacco juice was rubbed into the cuts, and the blood which fell from them was daubed on the face of the child so that he would have the courage shown by the father in undergoing scarification. The man was then fed the two cassava cakes upon which he had stood and also fish, which he had to spit out. He went back to bed for several days and had to abstain from the flesh of animals for a period of 6 months or a year, lest the child become deformed.[1]

The child received its first name 12 or 15 days after birth from a friend of the father who acted as godfather or godmother. The name was taken from that of an ancestor, from nature, or from something that had happened during birth, pregnancy, or the couvade. If the baby were strong enough to bear it, his ears, nose, and lips were pierced at the same time, but this might be deferred until 2 years had passed, when the child's hair was cut.

At first all children ate with the mother; when 4 or 5 years old the boys began to eat in the men's house. The fathers spent much time in training their sons in hunting, fishing, swimming, singing, basketry, making canoes, and particularly in shooting the bow and arrow, at which they had

[1] The accounts of the couvade vary considerably from source to source. The above version is taken largely from Davies (1666, pp. 336–338), with supplemental data from La Borde (1886, pp. 249–250).

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to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

Puberty and marriage.—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arumuk* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes, contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island. The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands, cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens. Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

Death and burial.—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm. They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man